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CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE: WHITE COLLAR WORKERS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

AUTHOR: Mrs. Frances Bairstow,
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MONTREAL, P.Q.

DRAFT STUDY

Canada

prepared for

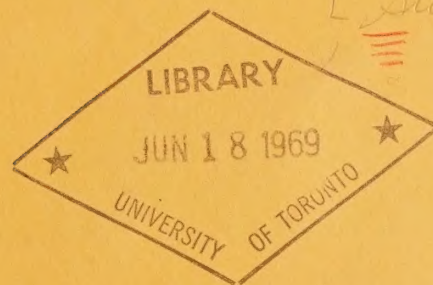
TASK FORCE ON LABOUR RELATIONS
(Privy Council Office)

PROJECT NO. 43

Submitted: July 1968

Corrected Copy

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A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. A. Wilson'.
H. A. Wilson
Administrative Secretary

Encl.



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1. The following information was obtained from the source:

1. The source is a male, approximately 35 years of age, who is currently residing in the United States. He is a former member of the [redacted] and has been active in the [redacted] since [redacted].

2. The source is currently active in the [redacted] and is involved in the [redacted] of the [redacted].

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Table 1. Summary of the data collected during the 1998-1999 season.

Location	Number of birds
1. Lake Michigan	10
2. Lake Huron	15
3. Lake Erie	20
4. Lake Ontario	25
5. Lake St. Clair	30
6. Lake St. Lawrence	35
7. Lake Champlain	40
8. Lake George	45
9. Lake Placid	50
10. Lake Tugay	55
11. Lake Umbagog	60
12. Lake Umbagog	65
13. Lake Umbagog	70
14. Lake Umbagog	75
15. Lake Umbagog	80
16. Lake Umbagog	85
17. Lake Umbagog	90
18. Lake Umbagog	95
19. Lake Umbagog	100
20. Lake Umbagog	105

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this assignment has been to identify the problems faced by white collar workers and their employers in adopting a collective bargaining relationship and to provide hopefully some guidance to the Task Force members in arriving at a public policy on industrial relations matters.

The Report is in two parts: first, the general background and research material which draws on the writings of specialists, legislation and its interpretation and government statistics.

The second part deals with a survey of white collar worker attitudes towards unions and collective bargaining as well as the office worker's conception of himself set apart from the blue collar worker. This survey was based on personal interviews and questionnaires administered to 365 office employees located in five Montreal firms and three Toronto firms. Where relevant, reference is made to similarities between general conclusions drawn by experts in other research projects and data received from the respondents in our questionnaires. The survey also included interviews with union leaders and management officials. Some managers were employed in the firms in which the survey was conducted and others were in firms in which we were unable to gain access.

Mrs. Ruby Cormier did an outstanding job in the bilingual personal interviews and in administering the questionnaires, Mr. T. Goloff assisted in securing the background government and union and management statistics and Mrs. B. Brittain was invaluable in tabulating the survey responses. I take full responsibility for the conclusions reached.

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II Methodology

The subject of white collar worker unionization and collective bargaining has many aspects. There is first of all, the need to know how many white collar workers there are in Canada, where they are employed, in which occupations and what are the labour force expectations as they relate to this group.

Secondly, it is necessary to know what the prospects are for white collar trade union development. This includes the need for such organization as well as the obstacles - both psychological and legal.

Thirdly, what have been the policies and practices of governments and their agencies in dealing with the white collar workers?

Fourthly, one must attempt some understanding of the individual white collar worker himself. What are his attitudes to his job, to unions and to his future role in our industrial society?

The material used in the preparation of this and the interim report came from many sources:

- 1) Government Data -- U.S. Department of Labour, "Hours & Earnings Reports", Monthly Labor Reviews, and "U.S. Directory of Trade Unions. "

Canada Department of Labour, Working Conditions in Canadian Industry, 1967

"Provisions of Collective Agreements Covering Office Employees in Canadian Manufacturing Industries", 1967
Labour Organizations in Canada, 1967
Dominion Bureau of Statistics publications including Census Data.

Great Britain --
Research Paper No. 6, "Trade Union Growth and Recognition" by George S. Bain,
Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, 1967

- 2) Bibliography: Listed in detail in interim report.
- 3) Other sources: Canadian Labour Congress White Collar Committee Reports, Statistics prepared by Research Department of the Quebec Federation of Labour, Statistics prepared by Research Department of the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

- 4) White Collar Attitude Survey --

The survey portion of this Report is based on personal interviews and questionnaires administered to 365 office employees in Montreal and Toronto. Here is a break-down of the respondents:

Montreal	264			Toronto	101
(35% French-speaking)					
French-speaking	94	Other	17	English-speaking	254
Union Members	174			Non-Union members	191
Male	256			Female	109

254 completed high school.

107 had some college or university education.

None had college degrees.

All employees who participated in the survey worked in companies which were quasi-public in nature. All of the office workers were employed in firms which carried on collective bargaining relationships with unions of various types, although their own (the respondents) departments were not necessarily unionized.

Follow-up and background interviews were conducted with union officers and management officials charged with white collar worker responsibilities.

III Shifts to White Collar Employment

In my interim report, I dwelt at considerable length on the fact that by 1956-57 the United States had become the first preponderantly white collar society in the world; the same change-over occurred in Canada by 1961. The professionals and technicals in this white-collar group have had a significant impact on this growth pattern.

I will not expand on the matter in this report, but would prefer to examine the question of why this tremendous growth in the number of white-collar workers has taken place. The main reason is probably the twentieth century growth of industry, commerce, services, educational institutions and government. At the turn of the century most businesses were small and fairly localized. Their record keeping was simple; their involvement with government was limited; their correspondence and communications dealt with relatively few customers and suppliers regarding relatively few products or services. The office was staffed by a bookkeeper and one or two clerks, and very often the owner-manager shared the office with them. As the population grew, so too did businesses to keep pace with this growth. New products were developed and record keeping became more complex.

There followed other events which had a profound effect on traditional business structures. The Second World War with its gigantic demands upon industry and the inevitable involvement of government controls, and the passage of important pieces of social legislation, such as unemployment insurance, family allowances, etc. All of these things necessitated record keeping and correspondence to a greater degree than ever before. New credit buying patterns were established. As society became more affluent and the middle class segment grew, so did the size of the commercial enterprises, services, industries and governments. All of them devoured more and more facts and figures - such statistics to be collected, digested, reported, tabulated and analyzed - all by a growing army of clerical workers.

Without going into too much detail in this report, it would be useful to refer to some labour force data. This is necessary to provide some form and unity to the subject of shifts in white collar employment. The white collar growth in the 20th century has not been an even affair, as first one group then another surged ahead. In the United States, for example, professional

employees have grown rapidly throughout the post World War II period. Clerical workers, on the other hand, made steady advances until the early sixties, momentarily paused and have begun to grow again in recent years. Sales and managerial employees peaked around 1959 or 1961 in the United States, and have declined slightly as a percent of the labour force since then.

The major white collar groups have not all exhibited the same tendencies in the United States and Canada. Professionals' and technicals' trends have been about the same -- in both cases they have about doubled as a percentage of the labour force, in around 20 years. The managerial and commercial (Managerial and sales in the United States is the near equivalent) groups, on the other hand, have not shown the tendency to decline in Canada, as they have in the United States.

Over-all, however, the white collar sector as a whole has shown steady growth in the United States and Canada. Furthermore, projections to 1970 (and to 1975 in the United States) show a continued relative growth of the white collar occupations.

Table Major White Collar Occupational Groups,
Employed Persons, 1948-1967, Canada,
Per cent Distribution of Labour Forces

Year	All White Collar as % of Labour Force	Managerial	Professional and Technical	Clerical	Commercial and Financial
1948	30.6	6.1	5.9	10.2	8.4
1959	39.1	8.9	9.3	12.6	8.3
1961	40.4	9.1	9.8	13.1	8.4
1963	41.1	9.1	10.5	13.2	8.3
1967	n.a.	9.4	12.4	14.1	n.a.
1970	45.1	9.1	12.3	15.0	8.7
(Projection)					

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1948-67;
Department of Manpower and Immigration for Projections for
1970, in N.M. Meltz and G.P. Penz, Canada's Manpower Requirements
in 1970. N.A. = not available.

Reasons for Shift to White Collar Employment

In a recent paper given at the 18th Annual Conference of
the McGill University Industrial Relations Centre (April 2-3,
1968), Professor Everett Kassalow, pointed out that the prime
cause for white collar growth has not been shifts within indus-
try, the technician or the clerk replacing the assembly worker.
Some of this is going on; but the major source of white collar
growth has been the shift of consumers to the "products" of
new industries and services, the rise of public employment,

education, as well as a general growth of the non-profit sector. The sectors of mining, manufacturing and agriculture have declined causing a corresponding blue collar decline.

Professor Kassalow believes that similar forces have been operating in Canada to an important degree. In tracing the causes of the better than general average clerical job growth between 1951 and 1961 in Canada, it has been determined that over 2/3 of this was attributable to changes in distribution between industries as opposed to changes within industries.

Future Trends

It is impossible to forecast with any certainty what is likely to occur, but it would seem that the services sector will expand as will medical, recreational and the like. Much expansion will depend, of course, on the course of the Vietnam War, foreign commitments and public policy on economic questions.

The substantial growth in white collar employment has carried with it an elevation in the educational attainment of the labour force. It is more than likely that the sons

and daughters of better-educated middle-class white collar workers will seek employment in the white collar sector.

All in all, we can predict, with conviction that the white collar sector of the labour force will continue to grow, if not at an accelerating rate, certainly in large numbers. The implications of this for white collar unionism will be pointed out in Section of this Report.

IV White Collar Unionism to Date in Canada

At the beginning of 1967, the number of white collar worker union members in Canada was approximately 347,000. This represents about 14% of the employees in the labour force.

This compares with 11% in 1965, 12% in 1964 and 13% in 1963. * It has been estimated that the private sector is organized in the white collar segment to the extent of 8%. As pointed out in my interim report, it is difficult to secure exact data figures, since no official Canada government data exist, which attempt to give a breakdown of white collar and blue collar union members. Furthermore, there are some groups which engage in collective bargaining, but are not listed with the Department of Labour because they are regarded as societies or independent associations. There are other groups whose membership is generally of a civil service character and unless they are affiliated with one of the central labour federations, are not likely to be listed. The Canadian Labour Congress estimates that as of January 1, 1967, their affiliated unions had organized 301,156 white collar workers. Adding directly chartered local memberships brings the total to 302,000.

* Working Conditions in Canadian Industry, Canada Department of Labour, 1967.

The Canada Department of Labour Working Conditions Survey does not have complete industrial coverage; individual firms with less than 15 employees were excluded before 1967. From 1967, this was enlarged to firms with 20 or more. The size of the sample varies:

No. of Office Employees

<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
681,658	718,718	952,434	980,710	1,107,209

A new group was added for the first time in 1965, mainly government employees, which may explain why the percentage of organized dropped in that year.

Furthermore, sales clerks in retail trade are not included in these figures; for some inexplicable reason they appear in the "non-office" sector, although the Working Conditions questionnaire defines office employees as "workers engaged in clerical, accounting secretarial, sales, executive and administrative activities..... typically paid on a salaried basis."

There is considerable variation between the provinces in percentage of white collar workers organized:

British Columbia	15%
Alberta	12%
Saskatchewan	32%
Manitoba	12%
Ontario	10%
Quebec	22%
New Brunswick	14%
Nova Scotia	7%
P.E.I.	0%
Newfoundland	15%

I cannot repeat often enough the difficulties of securing accurate statistics when both provincial and federal jurisdictions differ as to the exact classification and even definition of a "white collar worker." There is a certain "grey area" where certain occupations contain characteristics of both, not to mention the complication of where certain professional categories fit. In the Labour Force government publication, we find the four main white collar classifications "paid workers" table listed as Professionals and Technical, Clerical, Sales, and Communication. In estimating organizing potential the "professional" category obviously includes many groups which it is highly unlikely will ever be organized, i.e., scientists, architects, and even economists, etc. It is debatable whether some of the occupations which fall under the aforementioned main government divisions, should be described as "white collar." The Labour Force tables on paid workers only provide figures for these main divisions.

V The Structure of White Collar Unions

Of the forty-seven CIO affiliated unions listed on the following Table A, many of them operate in the private sector, as well as public employment and quasi-public organizations such as transportation companies. Approximately 20 of these unions are strictly white collar in nature, but virtually none of these white collar unions has made any serious inroads into private employment. The one exception to this is the Office and Professional Employees Union with its recently certified unit in Montreal of the Montreal City and District Savings Banks which include 1100 employees. The organizing potential here is very great, if one just takes into account stores, commercial establishments of all kinds and financial institutions.

The financial sector, where employees of banks, trust companies, insurance firms and other financial institutions, as well as the real estate industry, employ some 238,000 workers, nearly all of whom are "white collar."

In an attempt to ascertain how many white collar workers in Canada have been organized and which particular unions are engaged in this endeavour, the Canadian Labour Congress in early 1967 engaged in a survey with their affiliated and directly chartered unions. As a result of a questionnaire, they secured information on 82 unions out of a total of 104 - or almost 80% of

the total. From the 72 returned and completed questionnaires and their own per capita dues records, they learned that:

Unions which organize white collar workers	46
(Note Table A)	
Organize white collar workers, but none organized at Dec. 31, 1966:	5
Organize white collar workers, but figures not yet available:	1
Do not organize white collar workers:	30
Did not return questionnaire:	22
Total	<hr/> 104

However, of the twenty-two unions which did not return completed questionnaires, only one could possibly be interested in organizing large numbers of office employees and this union is the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians. The rest of the list ranges from the Boilermakers to the Upholsterers' International Union.

Examining the figures on Table A by union, we find that the Canadian Union of Public Employees ranks first with 106,060 members, the Public Service Alliance second with 60,000 organized white collar workers, the Retail Clerks third with 19,500 and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers fourth with 13,000.

Here is a breakdown by workers organized:

10,000 or over:	4 unions
5,000 but less than 10,000:	7 "
1,000 but less than 5,000:	16 "
500 but less than 1,000:	7 "
Less than 500:	12 "

Therefore, on the basis of their own figures, 19 CLC unions fall into the category of having organized "less than 1,000 white collar workers" each and, at the upper end of the scale, only 11 unions have organized 5,000 or more.

In Quebec, the picture is somewhat different so far as union structure is concerned. In addition to those organized into CLC unions, here, a total of 45,000 white collar workers are organized under the banner of a number of major federations, which are affiliated with the Confederation of National Trade Unions. Only 7,725 of these are employed in the private sector while government unionized employees number 38,000.

The following table represents Quebec union membership
of white collar workers

TABLE B -- White Collar Trade Union Membership,
Quebec, 1967, Private Sector
(prepared by CMTU)

<u>By Industry</u>	<u>Number Unionized</u>
Forestry	500
Mines, Quarries & Petroleum	200
Manufacturing	2000
Transport & Communication	500
Commerce	3000
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	525
Services	1000

On examining the areas of industry in which many of these unions operate, it would seem that several of them may be mining the same vein and more could be accomplished by establishing clearer jurisdictional lines in the white collar field. Considerable effort and money have been put into campaigns to organize white collar workers in Canada, especially a few major department store chains, but with little success. Reasons given for this failure range from active opposition from the employers to lack of interest on the part of female or part-time employees who look on their jobs as "temporary."

TABLE A

Unions which indicated they organized "white collar" workers and provided estimates of number organized up to December 31, 1966.

Number
Organized

909	*Actors Equity Association
99	*Canadian Air Line Dispatchers' Association
1,500	*Canadian Air Line Employees' Association (affiliated March 1/67)
1,000	*Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants' Association
650	Canadian Air Traffic Control Association
1,050	*Federation des Auteurs et des Artistes du Canada
6,000	International Union of United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America
950	International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America
1,600	Building Service Employees' International Union
550	International Chemical Workers' Union
3,200	Communications Workers of America
5,501	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
851	International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers
4,200	B.C. Government Employees Association
136	International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
990	International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
4,500	Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
9,406	*American Federation of Musicians of the United States and Canada

Table A

Number
Organized

3,000	American Newspaper Guild
9,815	Office & Professional Employees International Union
451	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union
100	International Union of Operating Engineers
80	United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers
400	Canadian Union of Postal Workers
106,060	Canadian Union of Public Employers
60,000	Public Service Alliance of Canada (30,000 at Dec./66, another 30,000 at March 1, 1967)
130	International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers
2,300	Association of Radio and Television Employees of Canada
5,000	Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees
13,000	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport & General Workers
19,000	Retail Clerks International Association
4,900	*Union of Canadian Retail Employees
6,650	Retail, Wholesome & Department Store Union
257	United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America
2,100	International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators of U.S. and Canada
3,778	United Steelworkers of America
4,760	*Commercial Telegraphers' Union

Table A

Number
Organized

1,191	American Federation of Technical Engineers
2,655	Federation of Telephone Workers of British Columbia
3,184	*Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists
255	Textile Workers' Union of America
250	United Textile Workers of America
100	Tobacco Workers' International Union
7,000	Transportation Communication Employees' Union
110	*American Guild of Variety Artists
502	Saskatchewan Wheat Pool Employees' Association
1,496	CLC Directly Chartered Locals
<hr/>	
302,156	TOTAL

* Information not provided by unions, but based on membership figures reported when payment of per capita dues made to the Canadian Labour Congress

Source: Prepared as part of a report done by the Research Dept., Canadian Labour Congress, 1967.

In its recent study, presented to the May, 1968 Convention, the Canadian Labour Congress Committee on Unity and Structure recommended that the number of unions affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress be reduced. The Report stated that organizing efforts in Canada were stymied by the small size of many unions, resources and treasuries. The Committee felt that if there were fewer unions, leaders of the large and more powerful groups would be able to consolidate their resources, utilize their organizing staffs more effectively and coordinate their efforts so that the present needless and wasteful duplication, not to mention jurisdictional wrangles, could be avoided. Although the Committee's work was directed at the whole body of labour organizations with which the Congress was concerned, in no other sector of the labour force is this advice more necessary than in the white collar one. There is only one union in Canada which organizes white collar workers only, namely, the United Office & Professional Workers Union. Thus, we have approximately 45 unions affiliated with the CLC which organize white collar workers in Canada, in addition to the CMTU federations, which organize in Quebec. About twenty of these unions can be said to be operating seriously or effectively and most of these are small. Obviously, consolidation of unions would be a significant step in improving organizing effectiveness. But, when one considers the entrenched interests and political investments of some union leaders, as well as the complications of decertification and negotiation of new contracts, the prospects do not appear encouraging.

VI THE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION AMONG WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Elsewhere in this report statistics are given on the extent and type of white collar labour organizations which now exist in Canada. In considering, however, this distinct subject, i.e. the "need", it will be necessary to select my own basic definition of "white collar workers." There are as many definitions and classifications as there are writers, but it is necessary to state my working definition before properly analyzing the need. I would divide the white collar group into five separate and distinct categories: those in the white collar industry of finance; those in public service, either as civil servants or employees of government agencies and Crown corporations; those in retail trade; those in offices directly associated with production facilities; and those who work side by side with production workers.

In the public service field, there has been overwhelming acceptance among civil servants of the need for union organization and collective bargaining. There are now approximately 225,000

federal employees including the Crown corporations and 173,000 employees of the provincial governments. It has been estimated that two out of every three men and women in the public service - federal, provincial and municipal - belong to some kind of union organization.

In retail trade, trade union membership has grown slowly. The Retail Clerks International Association reports a total membership of 19,500. Other clerks are to be found in Teamster union units and in the United, Retail, Wholesale and Department store Employees' Union, or counted as CIOU members. Working Conditions, 1967 gives 37,420 as the number of employees engaged in office occupations in the retail trades. Sales employees number 51,297.

So far, with the unique exception of the Montreal City & District Savings Bank unit of 1100, the white collar employees of the finance industry, including employees of banks, trust companies, insurance firms and the real estate industry have been aloof to unionism.

In offices directly associated with production facilities, the potential has not even been touched. The United Auto Workers' Union has a membership of 6000 in Canada, the Steelworkers report about 4,000. The Office & Professional Employees International Union has organized a few of these units, but with a total membership of 9,815 (prior to the certification of the Savings Bank unit above), it can't be said to have made significant progress. As mentioned in another section, the total membership by the CNTU of white collar office employees in the private sector amount to 7,725. In the words of the song, "there's a long way to go."

It would be appropriate at this juncture to insert a reminder that two long-established unions in Canada (the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks) successfully organized their white collar jurisdiction on the railways decades ago.

Advantages of union organization for white collar workers

As our survey of white collar workers shows (see Section XI), they believe they have ready access to their supervisors' attention. They do not find it difficult to discuss their work problems and are generally satisfied with their promotion possibilities. But with increasing size and automation, this traditional informal relationship may diminish and in certain cases, cease altogether. The computer is an impersonal object. It is no respecter of seniority or "claim" to status. The message will be "adjust or get out."

The computer has also made it necessary for the employer to carry on round-the-clock operations and we are beginning to witness the phenomenon of the white collar worker on shift work. More and more, then, his work environment will match the blue collar worker's. Even his traditional proximity to management will be ruptured. His job which can be displaced overnight may more and more become part of an overall production process. Where there is no union organization to represent the employees, it may never occur to some managements that they have any responsibility to the employees in the matter of retaining or minimizing the dislocation of people who have been in their employ.

The consequences of unemployment and dislocation for office workers is more shattering than for manual workers whose mode of life and social behaviour is not affected by the loss of a job. For the white collar worker who assumes that security is synonymous with the type of work he has chosen for his life's vocation, he is accustomed to staying with the same employer for most of his life. The office environment is essentially a middle class environment. The husbands and fathers usually live in suburbia, trying to keep up with the Joneses and are usually great users of consumer credit. They are preoccupied with keeping up appearances in line with the standards of their community, their children's expectations and their own self-image. The whole family can suffer traumatic experiences if the father becomes unemployed. They lack the resilience and adaptability of manual workers who can ride the storm.

Despite the fact that office employees are the most vulnerable group of our work society and the most threatened by technological change, they are the least prepared organizationally to defend themselves or to persuade their employers to

take their problems into account. Should this unhappy event be multiplied many times over, the impact on our economy could be serious. Not only is their purchasing power withdrawn, they represent a drain on the rest of the community in welfare payments or unemployment insurance.

If, through collective action, office workers are able to influence management to plan for a minimum of displacement, they are not only helping themselves but the whole economy as well.

The importance of such action cannot be underestimated when one considers the fact previously noted in another section of this report, namely, that the white collar worker segment of the work force has grown to the point where, in Canada, we have become a predominantly white collar society.

The Economic Council of Canada has estimated that during the present decade, the labour force will grow considerably faster than it did in the decade 1950-60. But even if the trend of the last decade were maintained, the clerical labour force will grow twice as fast as the labour force as a whole.

Thus, if automation causes restrictions in hiring, which is predicted by Mr. John McDonald of the Canada Department of Labour in his study of office automation, the result could be a rising rate of unemployment among office workers. As time goes on and more firms will be applying the computer to their whole operation, there will be fewer non-automated departments to which the displaced clerks can be shifted.

But again referring to my own study of white collar workers in a later section of this report, there seems to be no evidence so far that many office workers feel this insecurity. This may be due in large measure to the general expansion of white collar employment and also to what Professor Al Blum of Michigan State University refers to as the "A & P Policy" - i.e., attrition and pregnancy. This restriction on new hirings raises a problem for the unions. On the one hand, the present employed office workers feel no insecurity so are not interested in joining unions. On the other hand, the new clerical workers coming on to the labour market may never get a job and would therefore be inaccessible to the union organizer.

If there is no significant increase in the numbers of white collar workers joining unions, then the traditional labour movement will cease to be the spokesman for labour - it will merely be the spokesman for one small and shrinking part of it. The political and economic strength of the labour movement will diminish proportionately with the decline in numbers and when that happens, the influence of labour in important decision-making bodies will diminish markedly. Therefore, if the white collar worker remains unorganized, he represents a growing threat to the strength of the trade union movement.

When judged from this light, it is impossible to decide which group needs the other more. Do the unions need the white collar workers more than the white collar workers need the unions? What does emerge is that both groups need each other for continued survival and dynamic growth.

VII Problems and Prospects in White Collar Worker Organization

We have noted in some detail the comparison in development between white collar unions and their more successful blue collar union brothers and sisters. There are many obstacles which have prevented the widespread growth of office unions. Without going into great detail, I would like to list a few of these obstacles or problems:

Special nature and conditions of white collar work

The physical working conditions for white collar workers have not been as arduous as those for the factory worker. He does not regard his job as "hard work" in the way, for example, as a man who works in a foundry may dread his work-day. The white collar worker has not had to punch a time clock; his work pace has been easier. The office worker enjoyed paid vacations and holidays long before collective bargaining or public policy forced employers to grant them to factory workers. His expectations of job security were high. In fact, he was "brain-washed" by his parents to believe that even though he might earn less than the carpenter, he would have the comfort of knowing that he would be working fifty-two weeks a year.

Identification with Management

As we note in our study the office worker tends to identify himself with management, in part because he hopes to hold a management position himself one day. Because he is in such close contact with management on a constant basis, he is aware of management's union attitudes. If he is ambitious and optimistic of his advancement possibilities, he hesitates to jeopardize his chances.

High ratio of female employees

Over fifty percent of all white collar workers are women. It has been noted in most of the literature on white collar unionism that women workers are usually less interested in the long-range career possibilities of their jobs than are their male counterparts. They often use the word "temporary" when giving reasons for not applying for higher-rated jobs or for becoming involved in union activity. Because of the higher numbers of women workers in office occupations, the promotion possibilities of the more "stable" male white collar workers are much greater. This also tends to reduce the appeal of trade unionism for these males. Our survey of white collar workers bears out this conclusion. And in my personal interview of personnel officials of the Bank of Montreal, they stressed this latter point. They

stated that 90% of their female employees were under thirty years of age. Their annual turnover rate for women in banking was 42% whereas it was 18% for the males. They added that 35-40% of their female employees resigned for marriage or pregnancy reasons and then returned to bank employment sometime later during their marriages.

The CLC, to its credit, set up a White Collar Organizing Committee in 1962. In addition to carrying on research, it has held conferences and seminars, all designed to arouse their affiliated organizations to the needs and prospects of organizing. But to my knowledge, not one of their high-ranking officials charged with responsibility for the white collar drive is a woman! I raise this issue, not in any feminist sense, but because this is one area where the sensitivity and special knowledge of a professional organizer of the female sex can be of considerable assistance.

Small size of units

The small size of most office employee units is a further deterrent to union organizing. Communication with other office units in other establishments is difficult. There are few incentives and opportunities for people to assert leadership in

small units. Unions have generally not been enthusiastic about organizing small units, because the costs of servicing are so high and the frustrations so much greater for professional organizers.

Working Conditions, 1967, reports on a coverage of 1,107,209 distributed among 22,556. It must be kept in mind that these represent establishments of twenty or more employees.

Exclusions in the Law

This matter is analyzed in considerable detail in the section on "Problems in the Law", so I shall merely mention it here. Definition of the appropriate bargaining unit has proved to be a serious stumbling block in many instances. This is not so much true where white collar workers form a clearly identifiable group as in white collar workers distinct from factory workers. But many difficulties are encountered when one goes above the clerk level and approaches the supervisory level. More often than not, the employer will balk at the inclusion in a union of employees he labels "confidential or supervisory." Whether in the end the Labour Boards agree with him is often not

the main deterrent. Merely the arguing over inclusions and exclusions can so delay certification that by the time the case before the Boards is completed, the enthusiasm is considerably reduced and morale of the union membership weakened.

Inexperience of Trade Union Leaders

The lack of professional or white collar experience of many of the individuals charged with the responsibility for organizing white collar workers has served as a handicap in organizing. Very often, the education level of the workers is higher than of the officers who are attempting to persuade them to join the ranks of labour. Such leaders fail to make a favourable impression. Furthermore, organizing, like most activity today, is a job for professionals. In many cases, there is more required than knowing how to get a case before the Labour Boards. There are instances where a knowledge of psychology would be useful. An understanding of the special circumstances in the office which is being organized is essential. Many union leaders have not taken the trouble to do their homework. They frequently lack awareness that there are differences between white and blue collar workers. In fact, one prominent union leader, frequently in the news of labour disputes in Canada, told

me this: "Blue collar and white collar workers are the same. They both want more money, don't they? All this business about the special needs of white collar workers is nonsense." (I haven't quoted him exactly!)

White collar workers are free riders

The allegation is frequently made that there is no need for the office employees in industry to join unions, since they receive the benefits of the efforts expended by the blue collar worker unions in their establishment. There is considerable evidence to the effect that in most industries, the employers pass along to their office employees the economic gains previously negotiated by the shop unions. The blue collar workers quite naturally resent this and there is little cordiality between the two groups. The fact remains that if enough office employees feel that they have little to gain by unionizing, since they receive the same or similar gains than the blue collar workers, they will not demonstrate much interest in organizing. Wage comparisons indicate that blue collar workers' wages have gone ahead of those of the white collar workers. However, the important point is that the office workers believe they are doing as well as they might, even with unions. Then, why pay dues, especially to some U.S. based union?

Attitudes on Strikes

Two union leaders charged with responsibility for white collar collective bargaining in Hydro operations told us that their membership was reluctant to go out on strikes. They resisted the strike necessity and sought alternative means of settling disputes. One union leader in Quebec told me that although his white collar membership voted for a strike in one instance, they were most reluctant to accept picket line duty. They did not attempt to "break the strike" or cross the picket line, but they did not show up to walk on the line and carry a picket sign. They said they didn't feel well or they went out of town so they wouldn't have to answer the telephone when a union officer called.

This point of view was reiterated by at least two more union leaders with whom I discussed strike action as well as an attorney active in union representation work. This lack of militancy was also confirmed by our survey which is referred to in the survey section.

The situation is further confused by the lack of knowledge on the part of most union members as to when a strike is legal and when it is not. Dispute procedures are often complicated and poor communication is common during a strike. Since strikes are often identified in the minds of the public and the white

collar workers themselves with manual workers, the office workers are reluctant to be at the receiving end of public disapproval, as well as remarks from their family and friends.

In some instances, workers have adopted substitute techniques for strikes, which may be more deleterious to dispute settlement than a strike. Fire fighters, for example, have telephoned in that they were sick in large numbers at one time. This was as effective as any strike would be. The cities were left with only emergency protection. Hydro-Quebec employees experimented with the rotating strike which affects only one department or operation over one 24-hour period, but announcement of which department will be made inoperative is held until the last moment. Nurses and teachers have utilized the mass resignation techniques, while the less militant office worker has just quit rather than bring attention to his grievances or seek collective action for their redress, not realizing he would have plenty of company in his misery.

The above obstacles mentioned to white collar organization are not intended to serve as a complete list of deterrents. However, there are enough given here to convey some sense of the frustration and disappointment that lie in wait for the organizers of white collar unions. The psychological handicaps inherent among white collar workers, the lack of expertise on the part of organizers does not leave me optimistic as to the prospects. I doubt if the labour unions will make the structural changes necessary to accommodate the white collar work force in the private sector. The main hope for white collar unionism lies in the possible successful organization and collective bargaining experiences of white collar unions in the public sector. This development will, I suggest, prove most significant of all.

VIII Nature of White Collar Worker Demands

Without engaging in a far-ranging study comparing white collar workers in the private sector with their blue collar counterparts, it would be difficult to specify all of the issues or collective bargaining demands which are unique to white collar workers. It was in this aspect of my study that I experienced the most difficulty in my interviews with management and union leaders. Most of the managers shrugged their shoulders and replied, "it doesn't matter to us. Bargaining with both unions is the same. They ask for the same things."

Victor Gotbaum, Director of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees of New York City, replied to my question that he finds very little difference in bargaining for both groups. He went on to say that their union was beginning to ask for more involvement of their white collar members in work design and planning for dislocations. Other than that, there were few differences.

In general, some of the collective bargaining areas which are of special concern to white collar workers are: "better vacations and sick leave plans than have normally been bargained for by factory workers' union, less interest in such

things as supplementary unemployment benefit funds and more interest in insurance and stock-sharing programs. But it is easy to exaggerate the differences between blue collar and white collar groups. Once organized, white collar groups seem to negotiate agreements that show more similarities than differences when compared to manual workers' agreements." #

Study of the "Provisions in Collective Agreements" publications of the Economics and Research Branch of the Canada Department of Labour does not indicate that there are substantive differences between white and blue collar collective bargaining provisions in union agreements. This conclusion was confirmed by Mr. Felix Quinet, Chief, Collective Bargaining Division, in an interview. In the overtime area, one fact stands out, namely, the high proportion of white collar agreements which make no specific provision for overtime compensation after daily hours ---28%. It is even higher, 43% in the case of overtime compensation after weekly hours. The agreements of manual workers nearly always specify overtime payments. However, as with many other collective bargaining issues, pay and fringe benefit practices which prevail in the firms are not always

Everett Kassalow, "White Collar Trade Unions", Contemporary Developments in Industrialized Societies, edited by Adolf Sturmthal, University of Illinois Press, 1966.

specified in the agreements. Lunch time and coffee breaks may not be bargainable items in some companies but the practices exist and may be somewhat flexible. In many instances, the employees are not anxious to include these matters in collective bargaining discussions, fearing to jeopardize practices they already enjoy. The same applies to meal allowances.

A brief listing of other collective bargaining areas may indicate the difficulties of precise tabulations:

Education and Training

This subject is not included in the Department of Labour study of clause comparisons. Up-grading dependent on newly-acquired knowledge and skills is a matter of utmost importance to white collar workers. In my own study, this was frequently mentioned. It also must be said that hundreds of companies in Canada provide financial assistance to employees who can take courses in their area. Some will go so far as to pay partial salaries while employees are in training. Yet this was not mentioned to me as an example of a collective bargaining demand by the unions.

Removal of Sex Discrimination

Equal pay for equal work is commonly thought of in connection with removal of sex barriers in the work place. But the organizer of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, who was responsible for the successful drive in the Montreal City and District Savings Banks, told me that the Union succeeded in establishing equality in the matter of promotions as well. Furthermore, the female employees suffered from the fact that they had no choice in the location of their work. That meant that they could be sent to work in a bank located in the opposite end of the city from which they lived. Consequently, they spent hours in transportation. If they had to work overtime, this was a serious matter for them. Union recognition made it possible for them to exercise seniority rights in determining where they worked.

Shift Work

Automation has brought shift work to office employment. But in the case of the above-mentioned union in the Montreal banks, the union negotiated the termination of the night banking hours. Before the union agreement was concluded, banking hours

were from 9 to 3:30 and 7 to 8 p.m. This meant that if the employees did not live near the bank, they had to stay in the vicinity of the bank until they had completed their evening's work. Although they were given a small stipend for supper, it was hardly sufficient to get a full meal.

There are many other issues in bargaining which are related to the special conditions inherent in any one type of employment. There is little evidence, but there are indications that white collar workers are beginning to show interest in discussions between contracts which are relevant to job content and the nature of their work. Some of the office union leaders we interviewed referred to this as a future aim, but it is doubtful whether there is a groundswell of support for this from the rank and file office worker. Our survey shows that he is keenly interested in his job, but so far he is not articulate about what the union can do about securing his involvement on a higher level.

IX

Problems in the Law

Assuming that the obligation of the legal processes is to facilitate union organization, it is necessary to examine some of the legal restrictions imposed on the organization of the white collar workers in Canada. However, it must be pointed out that with one Canada Labour Relations Act, i.e., the Industrial Relations And Disputes Investigations Act, and ten provincial labour relations Acts, all of which contain varying provisions, analysis is somewhat difficult. I will however, attempt to deal with the relevant language in the Acts, the problems raised by the present interpretation of this legislation and some suggestions which have been made for changes in the legislation.

A number of reasons have been advanced as to why our present legislation poses special problems for the organization of white collar workers. First, of course, labour relations legislation was in the main, originally conceived of as only applying to blue collar workers. Secondly, it must be remembered that in the context of the times when the legislation was passed, the organization of white collar workers in large numbers was a dim possibility. No full-scale attempt was made to provide for them in the legislation. This means that many categories of white collar workers are now excluded by broad interpretations of managerial and confidential status. Third, it was probably not contemplated that certain categories of professional groups, such as nurses or teachers, would ever wish to become union members.

Legislative Exclusions

1. Managerial and confidential employees

All of the Act exclude managerial and certain confidential employees. The texts of the Acts in eight of the provinces are substantially similar to this phrasing in the TNDI Act -- "A manager or superintendent, or any other person who, in the opinion of the Board, exercises management functions or is employed in a confidential capacity in matters relating to labour relations."

In Manitoba the Labour Board is also authorized to exclude from the definition of an employee, persons who are engaged in "matters of a nature such that it would, in the opinion of the Board, be unfair to the employer for that person to be included in a unit that is appropriate for collective bargaining."

The Saskatchewan Trade Union Act more narrowly defines the meaning of management function by linking it with the authority to hire and fire - "Employee" means any person in the employment of an employer, except a person having and regularly exercising authority to employ or discharge employees or regularly acting on behalf of management in a confidential capacity"

2. Professionals^{*}

Except in Quebec and Saskatchewan, persons in the medical, dental, architectural, engineering and legal professions are not deemed to be employees by the definitions in the Acts. Other exclusions are persons in the dietetic profession in Manitoba and New Brunswick, nurses in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, agrologists in Manitoba and persons in the land surveying profession in Ontario. Teachers governed by provincial school Acts are excluded in British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Ontario and Prince Edward Island. In addition, in Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan, although teachers are included under the normal labour relations legislation, negotiations are carried out under special separate legislation.

Interpretation of Managerial and Confidential Status

It would be an impossible task to set down with any accuracy a set of guide rules based on labour relations boards' decisions which could accurately predict whether a person would or would not be excluded from a bargaining unit on the basis of their supposed managerial or confidential status. The decisions of the several Boards vary widely and in most instances the reasons for

* Although "professionals" do not come within the purview of my Task Force assignment, it is necessary to mention them here. Since government statistics and some legislation do not distinguish among "professionals", "technical" or "office employees", it is impossible to analyze the impact of legislation without taking this factor into account.

the decision in any particular individual's case are not recorded. Many factors are involved in the Board's decisions and assessments must be made as to the degree to which functions are exercised and the weight which should be given to the exercising of any such function. Furthermore, board decisions are based on considerations other than the exact wording of the laws or even precedents. The background of individual labour board members must be taken into account, in fact, even their inclinations or prejudices. After studying the history of any one subject of cases which have been before labour boards over a period of time, for example, unfair labour practices cases, leaves one with the distinct impression that decisions may hinge on who is sitting on cases that particular day. Split decisions are not uncommon, even if not publicized.

On the question of the limitation of exclusions based on confidentiality, the case of Labour Relations Board (B.C.) et al. v. Canada Safeway Limited (1953) 53 CLIC. 170 at 174 per Rand J. may serve to illustrate the point. A reminder may be necessary here that this case was decided under the old B.C. Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act which did not limit "confidential" to those matters relating to industrial relations. The Court here held that comptometer operators and power machine operators in the regional head office were eligible for inclusion in a bargaining unit although in the course of their duties they

had access to statistics regarding the financial operations of the company:

"This condition is present more or less in every business and an employee is under a legal duty as a term of his employment to treat all such matters as the exclusive concern of the proprietor. But the question under the statute is not to be determined by the test whether the employee has incidental access to this information; it is rather whether between the particular employee and the employer there exists a relation of a character that stands out from the generality of relations, and bears a special quality of confidence.... Between the management and the confidential employee there is an element of personal trust which permits some degree of "thinking aloud" on special matters: It may be on matters in relation to employees, competitors or the public or on proposed action of any sort or description; for that information is of a nature out of the ordinary and is kept within a strictly limited group. In many instances it is of the essence of the confidence that the information be not disclosed to any member or any group or body of the generality of employees."

Although I am not concerned with public employees as such in this report, it may be worthwhile to include reference to their approach of the Federal Government in the Public Service Staff Relations Act, 1967. The act does not confine "confidential" to matters of labour relations which seems to be the normal practice in the eleven non-governmental jurisdictions, but also covers such areas as access to government policy information, etc.

Having pointed out that labour relations board members are subject to the same human frailties as the rest of us, I would like to outline some of the criteria used by the Boards in reaching their decisions. I regret that it was impossible to outline the

experience of all eleven jurisdictions. I shall list those here which are drawn from the practice of the Canada Labour Relations Board and assume that the provincial boards apply similar criteria, even though they may not specify this.

1. Managerial

First, the type of function is examined. Does the employee have the authority to:

- (a) employ, suspend or discharge employees in the bargaining unit, either directly or by effective recommendations;
- (b) recommend wage changes, promotions, demotions or transfer directly or by effective recommendation
- (c) discipline employees or grant leave of absence;
- (d) make confidential reports on employees in the bargaining unit;
- (e) participate in company policy making;
- (f) attend supervisory or other meetings as a management representative;
- (g) assume the duty of superiors in their absence.

The manner of the exercise of these functions is also examined.

- (a) the frequency of exercising the duties and responsibilities;
- (b) the percentage of working time given to these duties;
- (c) the importance of the employee's position in terms of conditions of employment and special privileges as distinguished from the rest of the employees and the size of salary in relation to other people in the unit;

- (d) the community of interest between managerial or supervisory staff and employees supervised;
- (e) whether these functions include participation in special areas, such as collective bargaining or the processing of grievances;
- (f) whether these management functions are exercised with respect to personnel or only with respect to equipment;
- (g) whether these functions are delegated to a large number of employees supervised.

Finally, the CLRB will take into consideration the relationship of the positions in questions to similar categories in established units in similar firms or even in other industries.

2. Confidential

Several criteria may be listed here which are used by the Boards in determining eligibility:

- (a) the access to employee records and payroll;
- (b) time or motion study duties;
- (c) confidential correspondence relating to employees and production costs;
- (d) the auditing of work of other employees;
- (e) the reporting on or investigating of other employees;
- (f) the participation in policy making;
- (g) the proportion of time spent on such duties and any special privileges enjoyed.

It is important to mention here that in most cases the Boards, with the exception of Ontario, are usually not called upon

to make the decisions as to managerial and confidential exclusions. Often, a certification will simply cover "all employees" at a particular location or in a particular occupation. Only when disputes as to specific individuals occur, are they submitted to the Board for determination as to eligibility or exclusion.

Bargaining Units

Some Boards, Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as a matter of policy, never certify office employees with any other group of employees. The Canada Labour Relations Board and the Boards of British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island may approve a union application for a bargaining unit composed of both plant and office employees.

However, even in the latter jurisdictions, the number of joint office and plant employees' certifications is small. First, unions attempting to gain certification generally exclude office employees from their applications. Secondly, the Boards are willing to certify office employees with plant employees only with the consent of the office employees. Finally, many union constitutions bar office employees from membership. Other local practices may enter into the determination, i.e. office employees are never certified with other employees in the logging industry of British Columbia.

Even in those provinces where, as a matter of policy, the Boards do not issue joint certifications, there may be exceptions to the rule. For instance, in Ontario, the Board has issued a joint certification where the number of office employees is too small to form a bargaining unit. As an additional requirement, they have issued such certifications only where the office employee is a member of the union.

Through their decisions, one may glean the rationale of the Boards for refusing to certify office and plant employees in the same bargaining unit. They claim that there may be little community of interest between the employees which could lead to serious friction within the bargaining unit. Whether such differences will remain as a paramount factor if office employees become unionized in larger numbers remains to be seen.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In dealing with the legal aspects of the difficulties which white collar workers experience when entering collective bargaining relationships, I am conscious of my personal inadequacies here. One would almost certainly have to be a member of the legal profession and have handled a number of cases before the Boards on presuming to make suggestions for improvement of the legislation or administrative practices. Therefore, I will confine myself here to outlining the suggestions which have been made by the spokesmen for interested labour organizations.

Before dealing with specific recommendations, I do want to call attention to the importance of the Public Service Staff Relations Act, enacted in 1967. The legislation is too young to enable us to arrive at any firm conclusions on how the collective bargaining process has fared under it. But one can assume that the framers of the law did benefit from the experiences before the eleven Boards from their inception and incorporated some improvements in the federal legislation. Experience under the Act is bound to have a demonstration effect in the other jurisdictions.

1. Managerial status

The federal act has set relatively narrow limits on the definition of managerial status. In part, due to the size and far flung operations of the federal service, there are many levels of supervision and if the normal criteria had been applied, large numbers of personnel, including some who are very low on the pay scale, would have been excluded from the process of collective bargaining. This also would have meant that if the usual standards had been applied, persons in jobs with high wage ranges such as professionals who had little or no supervisory responsibility would be included in collective bargaining.

Therefore, the federal Act includes those who have executive duties and responsibilities, those who are directly involved in the process of collective bargaining on behalf of the

employer, those who are required to deal formally with grievances and those who are employed in certain specified confidential positions. Persons deemed to have executive duties are those engaged in the development of government policy, the directions of government programs and related functions in which there is requirement for exceptional ability in utilizing resources or in initiating or modifying administrative functions. There is also a further provision that persons may be regarded as being employed in a managerial or a confidential capacity if, in the opinion of the Public Service Staff Relations Board, they should not be included in the bargaining unit by reasons of their duties and responsibilities to the employer.

The Labour Relations Boards in the eleven non-governmental jurisdictions have seemed to make little distinction between managerial and supervisory functions. Even though some Acts do not specifically list supervisory functions as being grounds for exclusions from collective bargaining, it appears that if a man is performing supervisory functions at a high enough level and for a substantial portion of his working time, then he is regarded as managerial.

As more and more persons are drawn into collective bargaining relations under the Public Service Staff Relations Act, many of these employees will have higher salaries and greater responsibilities than those in the non-governmental area. Again,

it is worth mentioning here that if these procedures prove effective in the federal government, the pressure will build for implementing these procedures in the private field. Also, with the growth in size of private establishments and introduction of increasing technology, these offices will more and more resemble governmental operations. The Boards may look to the federal government for models in the determination of exclusions.

2. Confidentiality

At the present time the Boards seem to be guided by their own precedents on this question. The unions themselves have admitted that they give in very quickly on the exclusion of these so-called "confidential" employees when the question is raised. They state that perhaps labour organizations should be more aggressive in insisting on the inclusion of employees claimed to have divided loyalty because of their positions. Employers are too quick to seize on this as a possible strategy, particularly when the requirement for signatures of union members before the Boards is closely met.

3. Bargaining Units

The point was made earlier that in some instances, there may be little in common between office employees and plant employees even if they were certified in the same bargaining unit. But some

union spokesmen claim that it might be worthwhile to risk this internal conflict rather than leaving employees in situations where they are vulnerable to anti-union attitudes on the part of their supervisors or employers. Otherwise, separate organizing campaigns will have to be carried out each time against each employer. Since office units in plants are relatively small, these office employees are susceptible to antagonistic attitudes and find it hard to acquire the resources necessary for such campaigns.

I have merely touched on some of the legislative problems encountered by white collar workers when they attempt to enter on collective bargaining relationships. There is a need here for a thorough study which would examine some of the recent decisions affecting them.

A new case worth mentioning here is the certification of the employees of the Montreal City and District Savings Banks into a unit of the United Office and Professional Workers Union. The argument over the exclusions, particularly the "accountant" classification, delayed certification before the Canada Labour Relations Board for almost a year and considerably damaged the morale of the union members. They were eventually excluded. Another case concerned Eaton's in Toronto. The allegation has been made that arguments before the Ontario Board over supervisory

exclusions in Eaton's department store cost the union the certification of that store's employees in Toronto in 1951. The supervisors were counted on by the union as a potential source of union leadership. Their exclusion weakened the union and the vote was lost by a narrow margin. The campaign took place over a period of four years.

Still another instance of large scale exclusions concerns Quebec-Hydro. Five thousand white collar workers are employed by Hydro and only 2800 were permitted to become members of the bargaining unit. All senior clerks are excluded, thus eliminating promotion possibilities within the bargaining unit.

A final illustration will confirm the point made. One manager at Ontario Hydro described a situation to us which occurred during the late 1950's. The union organizing there contested some 900 exclusions. Proceedings before the Labour Board dragged on for almost two years with no result. At that point each party to the dispute delegated full responsibility to one representative. Together they worked out and settled the outstanding differences in a matter of four months.

We need to know whether in fact, large numbers in Canada in various jurisdictions have been excluded from the collective bargaining process, and, if so, did those exclusions have an adverse effect on the overall application for certification? It

is possible that with the passage of time and increased interest on the part of white collar workers in obtaining certification liberalizing amendments to the present legislation may follow.

X Management
 Attitudes

It is only after reviewing the material to be included in this report that I have become fully aware of the major gaps in the information I have included. I can now wish that I had time and opportunity to do another survey -- this one geared to managerial attitudes on white collar unionism. I would start with a thorough analysis of the major Labour Boards cases in the eleven jurisdictions which dealt with the problems of exclusions of certain categories and would analyze the arguments of the employers. I would want to follow up some of the more important cases with personal interviews of managers.

It is obvious, of course, that the opposition of employers to the inclusion of certain of these categories is a major factor in deterring white collar union organization. This point is mentioned so frequently by union leaders as a stumbling block to organization, that we must accept that it is true. Some union leaders have put it to me in another way -- "it isn't that the Board rules prevent their inclusion, it's that the Board members choose to interpret the rules to suit the employers."

Another indication that this opposition is more real than imagined came about as a result of my own survey. As I point out in another section of this report, I made some very serious

attempts to interview office employees in firms which have had no union experience with their white collar workers. I was turned down by five large firms.

Full copies of this correspondence were included in my interim report to the Task Force. However, just briefly, I shall summarize these reactions.

Company A - Letter dated July 19, 1967.

"Frankly, we are most reluctant to have members of our staff subjected to such a study in depth because we have so many projects in motion right now that anything which added to the number of such projects could well detract from our main objective. Further, our consultants recently completed a series of interviews with many members of our staff and we feel that there must be a limit to the questioning etc. to which they are exposed.

"Consequently I must say that, despite our interest in the subject of your study, we feel that we cannot participate in its development at this stage."

Company B - Letter dated September 1, 1967.

"We have recently had a fairly extensive questionnaire completed by our employees and we are hesitant at this time to have a further questionnaire completed by the same group of employees."

Company C - Telephone call from official, August 10, 1967.

"I'm afraid the interviews are not possible. The Bank is going through a period of reorganization."

This was followed up by a personal interview between Mrs. Bairstow and three personnel officials of the Bank on August 22nd. I was told it would be inadvisable for me to come to the bank and interview them in their offices.

Company D - Telephone call from official, July 31, 1967.

"We can't participate because the questionnaire deals with office unions. Our employees are all tensed up because of the situation in our company in a small town in Ontario, where an office union unit has just been certified under the production workers union."

Company E - Letter dated August 9, 1967.

"I do not think we should participate in the questionnaire survey which is part of your 'examination of the problems of white collar workers and collective bargaining in Canada'. There are a number of reasons for this, any one of which in my view would alone be conclusive.

"I presume you are aware that our white collar workers in Canada are not unionized. Understanding 'industrial relations' to mean the relations between employers and employees collectively represented by unions, I question whether it is consistent with the terms of reference of the Task Force ('to examine industrial relations in Canada') for it to undertake a study of the social background and attitudes of non-unionized white collar, salaried workers in Canada. Indeed, I also seriously question whether such a study has any place in 'an examination of the problems of white collar workers and collective bargaining in Canada'.

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"Less important than the above objections is my concern about possible misinterpretation by non-unionized employees of the meaning of their being questioned in this way on behalf of a task force set up by the Government of Canada.

"I would not be prepared voluntarily to participate in a survey of our salaried employees that would

- a) encourage any of them who would have an interest in organizing a union, or
- b) would provide information helpful to unions in their declared drive to 'organize the unorganized' among white collar workers.

"Our policy on this matter is quite clear. Three relevant points of our company's industrial relations policy are:

industrial relations practices conform strictly with applicable law and government regulations;

management recognizes employees' freedom of association and employees and their representatives recognize management's freedom to communicate its views on industrial relations issues;

employees collectively represented to negotiate with management have an appropriate community of interests and otherwise comprise a practicable bargaining unit.

"Consistent with these points of policy, our management has never actively opposed union organizational efforts among manual production employees. Over the last few years, this has been illustrated by the processes of our recognition of unions in our new plants in the United States and Canada. On the other hand, we have actively opposed organization of

salaried office employees. The company has, consistently with applicable legislation and regulations, actively opposed the union organization of our office people. The production workers union has made several attempts to organize our office employees in Detroit. These were all full blown organization campaigns. (They have also made halting attempts in Toronto.) Our response was to mount an active program 'to communicate management views on industrial relations issues'. This involved letters to employees and a series of meetings with employees. We used visual aids, discussion groups - the lot. (One of the admirable features of the U.S. industrial relations system is the freedom of such communication accorded management.) I am glad to say that, so far, we have successfully and overwhelmingly defeated the union in its organization drive.

"It is our intention to continue this approach. We shall continue to do everything that is possible within the law to persuade our salaried employees to our conviction that their unionization serves neither their interests nor those of the company.

"Against this background, I am sure you will understand our willingness to participate in the study you propose. You are aware of our company's and my own full support of the work of the Woods' Task Force. We shall certainly continue to give this support. But I am not convinced that the survey of unorganized white collar workers that you propose is consistent with the purposes of the Task Force - 'to examine industrial relations in Canada' - as set out in its terms of reference."

I believe it is worthwhile at this point to mention that the letters requesting cooperation in the survey were sent to officials who have always been involved in activities of the Industrial Relations Centre at McGill, who are known to me personally and

who have continued their high level of participation in Centre work in the period following this correspondence. In the instances of the companies where interviews did take place, some white collar unions have been engaged in collective bargaining relations, although we questioned many office employees who were not members of the unions.

The management of two companies agreed to personal interviews with me which were based on the questionnaire. These interviews were not particularly illuminating. Both managers kept their answers very general and assured me frequently that they enjoyed good relations with the unions in the stores and warehouses.

The Bank officials were more direct in their replies. They were convinced that unions for their bank employees were unnecessary and could make no contribution. They stated that since a large proportion of their employees were young females who did not intend to work permanently, they had no interest in unions. They repeated often the opinion that a "person can pull himself up by his own boot straps. If he is good, he will be recognized and go far. If he is not good, the union can't help him." Further, "if he doesn't like it here, he can quit and go elsewhere."

It is not too far-fetched then to conclude that for these management officials, the question of office unions is one that arouses some very hostile feelings. One of the managers in one of the departments located in a firm in which we surveyed told me categorically: "I'll do everything I can to stop my office employees from unionizing. Whenever I hear of a union coming around here, I call all my employees in and tell them what I think of unions and why they don't need one. No union has ever got a toe in the door here. As long as I am a manager, no union ever will !"

Certainly, the labour relations Boards will hear charges of unfair labour practice, if a discharged employee wishes to bring a case before the Board, if the employee can afford the waiting period before the case is heard, if he can provide the proof that is needed, even if the burden of proof is supposed to be on the Company which discharged him. One manager replied to a question on this subject: "Of course, we don't let a fired employee know that we fired him for union activity. If we want to fire him for that, we watch him until he slips up and then get him for coming in late or smoking in a 'no smoking' area, or something. We can always find something."

To cite further instances would only belabour the point. On the whole, employers are antagonistic to the idea of unions in their offices. Whether their reasoning is based on the fact that in honesty, they believe they are fair and concerned about their employees and don't need a union to remind them, or whether they fear the countervailing power of unions or the fact that their costs will go up, all evidence points to the conclusion that when an office union is recognized, the struggle has not been easy.

XI White Collar Workers Survey

In the early stages of preparing an approach to the study of white collar workers in their collective bargaining relationship, it became increasingly clear to me what needed to be done. After studying the statistics and reports on the extent and degree of organization, the lack of uniformity in presentation of the data by various governmental jurisdictions and the disparity in identification of the white collar group made analysis extremely difficult. Furthermore, I was given to understand that my particular assignment for the Task Force was to concentrate on the non-professional, non-governmental white collar employee. This is where the fun began. Very few analysts made this separation in their studies and observations. So I decided to do my own study of this group.

As noted in other sections of this report, the white collar worker employed in the private sector, mainly in commercial, financial and service industries has been the employee most difficult to interest in unionization. His reluctance to join unions has been the subject of many reports and much speculation. What is so special about him? Why does he regard himself as unique? What happens to him in the course of his white collar employment? Do his attitudes and expectations change? If we could find out his motivations and something of his work behaviour, we could

gain some valuable insights into the future prospects for unionization of this group, which has so far resisted collective bargaining in significant numbers.

But here is where I was met with disappointment. My first course of action was to attempt to interview white collar workers employed in various private firms, both unionized and non-union. To this end, I approached five major employers of clerical workers, four of these were located in Montreal and one in Toronto. All five refused giving various reasons for their refusal. (For details, see Section X). Proceeding from these refusals to the next best course of action, it was decided to interview employees employed in quasi-public corporations, in an attempt to learn of their attitudes. These might throw some light on the same questions we were endeavouring to explore. Consequently, some three hundred and sixty-five employees either completed a questionnaire or participated in an interview with the objectives of examining their responses to the presence of a union in their firms and their behaviour in an environment where collective bargaining relationships were at work. The firms included five in Montreal, three in Toronto; 174 employees were union members, 191 were non-union employees. There were 94 French speaking and 254 English speaking workers surveyed as well as 17 of other ethnic origins. Of the group, 256 were male, and 109 were female. One hundred and one were employed in Toronto and 264 in Montreal. None had university degrees, most had completed or had some high

school education. The majority were from 20 to 40 years of age.

The results revealed a gold mine of information, but obviously, selections of the most relevant material had to be made. The material chosen for this report to the Task Force is based on my judgment as to those portions of greatest relevance. to the issue of the organizability of white collar workers.

I can only hope that this decision also meets the interests of the members of the Task Force. The subject can be approached from many angles. But I would like to analyze it from the point of view of many of the assumptions (some might even call them myths) about white collar workers. Then comparing these assumptions or dignifying them with the label "hypotheses", we can see how the responses of the workers in the study stack up.

These assumptions are mainly that white collar workers are difficult to organize because of the high proportion of women employed in white collar occupations and the consequent high turnover rates, and the increased management sophistication in handling white collar workers. Furthermore, they believe that, because their objectives cannot be achieved through union organization, the traditional selling points of wages, security and working conditions do not bring them into unions. Let's see what the data in this survey reveals.

Wages- Job Satisfaction and Organizing Potential

Proceeding on the assumption that wages have been a major motivation in the growth of unionism, our results in this survey are hardly encouraging for making wages a priority selling point for

white collar unionism.

Question: What were your main reasons for seeking or accepting employment with this company?

70 women out of 109 gave "adequate wages" as their 1st choice.

112 men out of 256 gave "adequate wages" as their 3rd choice.

Then, when asked if their reasons would be the same if looking for a job today, 287 responded in the affirmative. Of the 79 whose reasons would differ, the males ranked "wages" in the third position and the females relegated wages to third place also. The females selected "more interesting work" as of first importance.

Question: What do you like best about your job?

Male respondents --"Pay"-- 3rd choice (32 out of 256)
This group selected "work itself" as their first choice and "promotion possibilities" as 2nd choice.

Female respondents selected "pay" as second choice only-- in fact, 22 out of 109, whereas, they also (34 of them) selected the "work itself" as first choice.

Question: Do you believe your present salary is adequate?

Of 353 responses, 207 respondents found their present salary adequate of whom there were 79 females. A higher proportion of females than males believe they are paid adequately - approximately 73%, whereas 50% of the males felt they were adequately compensated.

Thus, it would seem that once an employee is settled into a job, salary is not the first consideration, even though, as in the case of the females, it was the major reason for taking a particular job. This will check out when examining their responses to the question asking why they liked their jobs.

I have observed that one of the major obstacles to white collar organization is the attitude of the white collar worker, or his self-image as different from the blue collar worker. Is he satisfied with his job? Is he pleased with his vocational choice? What are the implications for unionization here?

Question: How would you compare your job with that of a factory worker?

Of 256 respondents, only 51 state that they are paid better than factory workers. In full realization of this, 201 white collar workers remain in their jobs and give highest values, in the case of the female employees to their jobs as "more interesting", and in the case of the male employees "cleaner"!

Question: Why did you join a union?

Of 195 union members, 48 females and 147 males, a total of 155 indicated that they had no choice -- that they were included in some sort of union shop arrangement, but in the following question only 76 indicated that they expected improvement in their wages. This would appear rather a low response when considering the strong identification of improvement of wages with the establishment of unionism. Four responded, "expected nothing, got nothing."

I would conclude from the above data that salaries do not appear to be as important to the white collar worker in his choice of job, his degree of satisfaction with his job or in his union expectation as one might generally assume. It appears that he will put up with

lower wages if he likes the work itself and he doesn't expect a great deal in this regard from his union. As further evidence of this, of 294 replies to the Question of "under what conditions would you go on strike?" only 55 replied "adequate wages". "Better working conditions" headed the list with 77, and 53 would not strike at all under any conditions. I believe there are serious implications for union strategy in these reactions.

Security

Another popular assumption regarding white collar workers is that "Security" is a value which rates as one of major importance. The thinking here is that white collar workers will sacrifice higher economic gains and benefits in the short run, if they can count on steady employment.

Question: How would you compare your job with that of a
Factory worker?

With female respondents, security ranked in third place, while males placed it second. A total of 170, or about half of the group queried, stated they believed that their jobs had more security than blue collar workers.

We matched this up with responses on questions directed toward possible future changes in their work environment and inquired what would happen in the event of automation. Only 13 of the 161 who answered revealed negative feelings of worry or fearing change. In estimating the attitudes of their fellow workers, they concluded that only 23 out of the 161 were seriously concerned. Fifty-one of the union members stated that they expected "security" when they

joined the union.

It seems quite apparent to me, from their responses to these and related questions, that white collar workers maintain the belief, whether it is illusory or not, that their white collar jobs are likely to be permanent in nature, but that it is really not up to the union to provide or guarantee this security. Rather they believe that this is in the nature of the work itself and there is no special advantage to the unions in stressing "security" as a goal. This has limited appeal to union members, especially the female portion. Only nine female respondents listed "security" as the reason for joining a union. This latter point would tend to confirm the popular conception of the female white collar worker as having no commitment to the idea of unions, if she feels that their promises of security have little relevance to her working plans.

Promotion and Advancement

Continuing with the question of the attitudes of the white collar worker about himself and his conception of his job prospects, it was most interesting to note that the white collar worker still believes in his own ability to achieve recognition and upward mobility. It would seem then that the main role he delegates to the union is not the one of helping him achieve greater recognition or status. He prefers to believe that his achievements are directly related to his own merit.

Question: What were your main reasons for seeking or accepting employment with this company?

Males:	Advancement	143
	Interesting Work	119
	Company	110
	Pay	110
	Pension etc.	88

Females:	Pay	72
	Work	56
	Company	49
	Advancement	46
	Pension & Ben.	13
	Transportation	13

Pay is more important for females than males. Since females are not as interested in advancement as males, they may be less inclined to identify with superiors.

Question: Would reasons be the same today?

Answers: No _____ 79 Yes _____ 286

What is extremely interesting here is that of the 79 who answered "no", 48 males gave as their new number one choice "chance of advancement" and 25 females gave this as their first choice. In response to Question 14, what is liked best about job, advancement is weak 4th choice for females but is an important 2nd choice for males. In both cases, they ranked "the work itself" as first in importance. Furthermore, other employees when asked what they liked least about their jobs, ranked promotion possibilities. In these cases, 74 employees mentioned this factor. Adding "most" and "least" together, since it looms so large in their concerns, it appears that promotion is a very important consideration indeed. 360 employees replied to the question of whether they had been promoted since working for the company. 292 were promoted and 68 were not. Since 170 of our

respondents have been in their jobs for a period of less than five years, they are inclined to positive responses as to their own prospects in the company.

Not all of these same respondents replied to the question of whether these promotions were automatic or on merit. 190 were on their merit, 75 were automatic and 19 responded "both."

Only 31 males out of 256 indicated that their chance for promotion was not good, and only 22 females were pessimistic. Proceeding further with their conception of themselves vis-a-vis factory workers, 194 workers responded that they had greater chances for advancement than factory workers. Males ranked it second place in importance, females ranked it in third place. Both replied in the comparisons questions that they had "more agreeable working conditions" and both ranked this as of first importance.

Advancement is obviously of high value for the white collar worker. He is interested in moving up. He doesn't expect to stay at his present level. We can speculate on the reasons for his positive expectations. Possibly it is because he is in a good position to understand better the qualifications required for promotion than is a blue collar worker and he knows what is expected of him. Furthermore, he is more likely than the blue collar worker to have ready access to his supervisors and to have them fully aware of his qualifications, ambitions and accessibility.

I would state categorically that , on the whole, the white collar worker would be reluctant to admit that he needed to depend on a union to help him achieve the recognition he actually deserves.

As a more subtle consideration, I would estimate that in his thinking he is fully aware of the close working relationship he enjoys with his supervisors and would be concerned about the necessity of expecting a union to argue on behalf of his ability.

This is borne out by the fact that 172 responded that they felt free to discuss their problems with their supervisors. In fact, over 52% of them selected "I feel free to discuss my problems with him (her)" as the most common reaction to working with their present supervisors. Most of the 332 who responded to this question indicated positive feelings toward their supervisors. Only 51 replied with negative reactions. This definitely strengthens the impression I have that white collar workers find it difficult to develop "hate the boss" feelings. If a union were to adopt a hostile or aggressive approach, it would likely be most unsuccessful as a union drive.

Working Conditions

Proceeding on the assumption that employee dissatisfaction with working conditions has been a major source of support for the growth of unionism in our economy, we made an attempt to probe our white collar worker's attitudes towards this factor in their present jobs.

Question: How would you compare yourself with a factory worker?

The largest number of the whole group of 365, namely 218 checked off "I have more agreeable working conditions." It ranked first place for both male and female employees. It has previously been stated that 107 employees replied that when they joined the union, they expected better working conditions for their membership.

But when only 23 indicated they were entirely satisfied with their union membership and 129 partially satisfied, while 19 were not satisfied at all, it would indicate to me that they are not much impressed with the union's performance in this regard.

Question: Under what conditions would you strike?

The one strike objective which elicited the largest number of responses of the group of 294 (a total of 77) replied "for better working conditions." Actually most of them indicated they would prefer not to strike.

I cannot be absolutely certain of this, since it would involve personal interviewing of all of the 365 respondents, but I was left with the distinct impression that the term "working conditions" means different things to different employees. While to some, it may mean, a pleasant room with good ventilation and good equipment, to others it may mean pleasant working companions, the work itself not being unduly onerous and a reasonable boss. The results of our survey reveal that white collar workers do not feel they are badly treated, they believe their working conditions are reasonably good and there is not too much pressure on them. It is necessary to insert a caveat here that the responses of the union and non-union employees differ little, but unions do exist in some departments in all of the companies involved in our survey. The unions in these companies, therefore, may be responsible in

some measure for the "good working conditions" but the fact is that the employees do not give them much credit for this.

Work Itself

If we assume that in the view of these white collar workers, the unions can make no significant contribution to their welfare in matters of salary, security or working conditions, is there any area in which the union can effectively function? I would reply in the affirmative. The white collar worker indicates a keen concern in the way he spends his required daily hours of work. He may accept the fact that he doesn't earn as much in wages as does a blue collar worker. He is sure that his security is greater, but what he does care about is the job itself.

Question: How do you compare your job to that of a factory worker?

Both male and female respondents ranked this value highest.

254 responded: "My job is more interesting than a factory worker's."

Question: What do you like best about your job?

129 gave "work itself" as first rank. This included 93 males and 36 females.

Behavioural scientists have been scoring both union and management leaders for not paying sufficient attention to the work content needs of workers -- both blue collar and white collar.

These specialists have complained that in the concentration on bettering the economic conditions or "maintenance needs" of the workers, they have neglected the even more important psychological needs and have noted that this seriously damages the morale of our workers. Our study revealed that 175 white collar workers sought their jobs because they thought it would be interesting work.

Considering that our survey is concerned with a non-professional work group, these findings are important. This motivation coupled with reasons of working conditions, chance for advancement and a "good company to work for" signifies that there is more than a little concern for the nature of work. When asked if their reasons would be the same now, in selecting their jobs, 286 replied "yes". The challenge for the unions, it seems to me, lies here in this area. What can the unions do to improve the jobs, to increase the worker's interest in them? How can the workers be given greater autonomy in decisions at work which affect the kind of work they do and the decisions that affect them. The workers have strong social and self-fulfillment needs. These include self-esteem, achievement, competence, status and recognition. To repeat a relevant cliché, "Man does not live by bread alone."

Our study indicates that the reasons for remaining at a job or liking a job may turn out to be quite different from

the motivation exercised in selecting a particular job. In other words, people have to go to work and are not careful or do not have the waiting power to be very selective in their choice of jobs, when they have little formalized training or education. However, once employed and having held a job for a period of time, they become more aware of the importance of the nature of their jobs where they spend an important part of their daily lives. They develop conceptions of what the world of work should stand for and what their self-image is. If the unions approach their task of organizing and representing workers with this knowledge, their chances of success are likely to be greater. In fact, the unions can make a significant contribution both to the employees and the establishment. What is required here is involvement of the workers and their supervisors in joint planning and decision-making. I would venture to say that the growing appeal of the professional groups stems from the viability of this approach.

Furthermore, removal of the aura of conflict can also be a significant factor in job attitudes. Union membership among government employees is growing partly because of this realization and partly because of the availability of strike substitutes. The respondents in our survey replied overwhelmingly, whether they were union members or not, that they preferred various forms of arbitration and fact-finding to the strike weapon. This is part of their self-image. They don't want to be regarded in the same

light as blue-collar workers and strikes are associated in their minds with factory workers. This may be a fact for the Task Force members to ponder. How can conciliation procedures be strengthened so that resort to strike may indeed be the last resort in the minds of these white collar workers?

It cannot be said that our survey has turned up the "average white collar employee", but having lived with this data so long and having analyzed it from so many angles, I feel as though I have learned enough about the motivation and attitudes of these workers to attempt to draw a picture of the composite white collar worker in our study. Our median male employee is between twenty and thirty years of age. He has worked in the same company and in the same job for about five years. He has acquired some high school education.

He took his present job because of several positive features the job offered -- e.g., advancement possibilities, the interesting work it promised and the fact that the company had a good reputation as a place in which to work. By and large, he was not disappointed. If he had to do it all over again, he would seek a job for much the same reasons. The qualities of his job that he finds most attractive are the work itself, which he regards as interesting. He estimates his promotion possibilities as good, but would prefer to get ahead faster. He is probably not very enthusiastic about his pay, perhaps feeling that a sacrifice in pay is worth it if the promotion possibilities are good. (Note that for males, it is almost a 50/50

split of those who feel their pay is adequate or inadequate.) On the whole, he finds his supervisor easy to discuss work problems with and fair in his treatment of him. He is optimistic about both his salary and status improving in the future.

Our white collar worker's self-image is of a man who is glad he is not a factory worker. He prefers his own type of work. He notes that his work is cleaner and he enjoys greater security and prestige than does the factory worker. These factors seem to outweigh the importance, to him, of income, since he acknowledges that the factory worker's income is higher than his own.

He is a member of a union since he had to join in order to work at his present job. He expected that the union would ensure some minor improvements in working conditions, mean more security and better pay, and to some extent, these expectations have been fulfilled. Since his union is affiliated with an international union, he feels his dues are higher. He has never been on strike and does not know what he would do if his union called one. He is quite sure that he would not do picket duty.

He would prefer that the union find a more dignified alternative to the strike, like a fact-finding board which hasn't been tried much yet and sounds as if it might be a good idea. He does not know very much about the laws that affect him and his union. He would like to feel that the government has control over union funds and elections, not realizing that it already has.

Since he is expected to be promoted soon, he really doesn't see what point there is in getting too involved with the union. Anyway, it doesn't seem to offer much to him.

How does our median female employee compare with her male counterpart? The female white collar worker of the same age, 20 - 29, plans to work "permanently" until marriage, pregnancy or a better job. She assumes she will not be working forever, so she considered salary of more importance than her male colleague when she took the job. She is anxious to save money or have a spending-spree before she gets tied down. In either case, a good salary is important to her, but once in a position, tends to regard to nature of the work itself as of first importance and salary a secondary consideration.

She also likes to have pleasant people to work with. She is dissatisfied with her chances for advancement. If she is married, she is particularly interested in ease of transportation to work and convenient hours. She approves of her supervisor and she likes to work for him.

Like the male office worker, she regards her position as preferable to that of the factory worker because of her better working conditions and cleaner surroundings. She notes that her education is superior to that of the blue collar worker.

Where union membership is voluntary, she is less likely to become a member. She is more reluctant to go out on strike than her male working companions. On the whole, she doesn't see what they could offer to her.

Conclusions

There needs to be a thorough examination of the establishments where unionism for white collar workers is actively opposed by the employers. All of the firms involved in this study have either one union or several with whom they have collective bargaining relationships, although many non-union employees in these same firms were interviewed. One can safely assume, though, that many of the responses to the questions asked in this survey would reveal very different answers in a non-union establishment. It is a source of great disappointment to me that we were not granted access to such places of work.

On the other hand, the argument could be made that if the employees in such firms felt a strong need for organization, they would manage to accomplish it. Barring actual legal deterrents, it must be recognized that management demonstrates no overt opposition to unions on increasing sophistication in handling white collar workers and the need felt by white collar workers may be very latent indeed.

However, the need that the organized labour movement has to include the white collar workers in their unions may be another matter. With a declining blue collar work force and decline in strength and power of the organized sector, the observation must be made that when considering the future, the

unions need the white collar workers more than the white collar workers need the unions.

As unions demand a larger voice in social and economic planning, as well as political decision-making, they will not be able to claim that right if they do not truly represent all categories of workers in our society.

XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The white collar worker does not lend himself to easy definition or classification. Research into white collar worker problems is made difficult by the fact that Governments do not agree on where he belongs when they draw up their tables of statistics for labour force and trade union organization. Scholars in the field attempt to distinguish him from his colleagues by his work environment and the job he holds. However, the office employee is not as readily identifiable as is a nurse or a teacher. It can be said though that if one views the "white collar category" in the largest sense, one concludes his numbers are growing in relation to the blue collar work force. Canada's work society, like the United States is now predominantly white collar in nature. The United Kingdom is slowly approaching this level.

While there has been a tremendous upswing in white collar trade unionism, its occurrence has been most noteworthy in the public or quasi-public sector. This increase has been facilitated by the development of public policy, notably the passage of the Public Service Staff Relations Act in Canada in 1967. White collar unionized employees represent about 14% of the total white collar work force, but this total includes government employees. However, in Canada, only 8% of the unionized white collar workers are found in the private sector of our industrial establishments.

Trade unionism has an important contribution to make in enhancing the general welfare of white collar workers to the same degree it has done so for blue collar workers. Office employees should be brought into the mainstream of social and economic development in our society. The organized labour movement can increase its power and effectiveness by the addition of the white collar sector of the labour force. Society can also profit from extension of industrial democracy to this group.

There exist many obstacles to the spread of trade unionism to large numbers of white collar workers. These obstacles are in part legal and arise out of the administrative practices which have developed from interpretation and application of the appropriate laws in all federal and provincial jurisdictions. Other obstacles are psychological and stem from the white collar worker's own conception of himself as an employee distinct from a blue collar worker. This self-image has frequently deterred him from membership in a union and participating in collective bargaining.

Efforts to organize the white collar worker have suffered from the aforementioned problems and from the lack of "professionalism" practiced by those with the responsibility of organizing office employees. Office workers are more likely to identify themselves with their supervisors than with traditional trade union leaders. If white collar union drives are to be successful, they must appeal to new members on issues which go beyond the standard collective bargaining items of wages, hours, and working conditions. In each industry, in each office the workers employed there have special needs and interests. These must be taken into account before the workers will join the ranks of organized labour. Their leaders must have intimate knowledge of the nature of their work and must be able to express their aspirations.

Successful organizing drives among professional groups such as teachers and nurses and government employees; publicity given to achievements of these organizations; and the impact of automation are bound to have an accelerating effect on organizing efforts in the white collar field.

The white collar attitude and work experience survey which forms the basis for the major conclusions in my report, confirms my belief that white collar workers in the private sector are reluctant indeed to become trade union members. Their immediate concerns relate to the work they are doing. Their long-range concerns include career advancement possibilities implying interest in opportunities for increased education and training. No white collar drive based on a "hate-the-boss" strategy will succeed.

Our modern society is an interdependent one. White collar workers and blue collar workers have much in common, once they become organized into unions. Together they can add to the over-all wealth of our society in economic and social terms, if they join forces in exercise of their power in matters of public policy and concern.

It seems to me that the Prime Minister's Task Force on Labour Relations can do much to facilitate this development of white collar unionization. Public policy at all government levels needs to be re-assessed in the light of the changing composition of the labour force, the union organization drives in the public sector and the experience before the Labour Boards. Nowhere is a new look more vital than in the area of the definition of the appropriate bargaining unit. The Task Force can assume no responsibility for changing the psychological attitudes of white collar workers towards unions, but it can help to create a climate which is more noted for ease of passage of unionization than for roadblocks.

